

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 246299

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, GE, GW, WB

SUBJECT: GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: US POLICY SETTING
AND OBJECTIVES

THE FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT OF US INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES
IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC HAS RECEIVED INTER-
AGENCY CLEARANCE. IT IS INTENDED TO SERVE AS THE BASIC
STATEMENT OF AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS THE GDR FOR THE
COMING YEAR.

SETTING

(A) ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
US AND THE GDR IN SEPTEMBER 1974 ENDED ALMOST THIRTY
YEARS OF FORMAL ISOLATION. THE WESTERN DECISION TO
ACQUIESCE TO THE ENTRY OF THE GDR INTO INTERNATIONAL LIFE
WAS A FINAL STEP IN A COMPLICATED PROCESS OF EAST-WEST
NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT SECURING THE EXISTING BALANCE IN
CENTRAL EUROPE. THE DECISION BY THE THREE WESTERN
POWERS (US, UK, AND FRANCE) TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELA-
TIONS WITH THE GDR WAS FURTHERMORE CONDITIONED ON FORMAL
SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF THE MOST CONCRETE EMBODIMENT OF THE
EXISTING BALANCE, FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
FOR BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE (QRR). ALLIED RIGHTS

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UNDER QRR INCLUDE CONTINUATION OF THE SPECIAL SITUATION
IN BERLIN AND CERTAIN SPECIAL PRIVILEGES IN THE GDR
ITSELF.

(B) THUS, THE GDR IS MORE IMPORTANT TO THE US AS THE
EPICENTER OF THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE US,
THE USSR, WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN THAN FOR ANY
INTEREST WE HAVE IN THE GDR PER SE. CONTINUED PROGRESS
TOWARDS DETENTE IS TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT DEPENDENT
ON MAINTENANCE BY BOTH EAST AND WEST OF THE BALANCE IN
CENTRAL EUROPE, ESPECIALLY IN GERMANY AND BERLIN.
FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE GDR WILL LARGELY BE DETERMINED BY THESE BROADER

CONSIDERATIONS.

(C) IN THE LAST THREE YEARS THE GDR HAS GREATLY INCREASED ITS OFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH WESTERN AND OTHER COUNTRIES. IT IS NOW RECOGNIZED BY OVER ONE HUNDRED NATIONS AND IS A MEMBER OF THE UN AND MOST OTHER IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. DESPITE ITS NEW INTERNATIONAL STANDING, THE GDR IS NOT LIKELY TO GAIN MUCH FREEDOM OF MANEUVER FROM THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH REGARDS CONTROL OF EAST GERMANY AS THE KEY TO ENSURING MAINTENANCE OF ITS PREDOMINANT POSITION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. THE NEED FOR SOVIET SUPPORT TO PROTECT THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM IN EAST GERMANY, PLUS THE PRESENCE OF 20 SOVIET DIVISIONS ON ITS TERRITORY, HELPS MAKE THE GDR THE STAUCHEST ALLY OF THE USSR.

(D) ANOTHER SPECIAL FACTOR AFFECTING THE GDR AND US-GDR RELATIONS IS THE SPECIAL NATURE OF TIES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF GERMANY. FORCED TO DEAL WITH THE POSITIVE EXAMPLE OF THE FRG IN ALMOST EVERY ASPECT OF ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, THE GDR HAS IN RECENT YEARS CONDUCTED A CONCENTRATED EFFORT TO SEPARATE ITSELF--BOTH POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY--FROM THE WEST GERMAN STATE. CONTINUED WEST GERMAN EFFORTS TO WORK FOR THE UNITY OF GERMANY TEND TO INCREASE THE INSECURITY OF THE EAST GERMAN LEADERSHIP. A CONTINUING POINT OF FRICTION WILL BE THE BERLIN WALL AND EAST GERMAN RELUCTANCE TO ALLOW ITS CITIZENS TO TRAVEL ABROAD. THE OVERRIDING AMERICAN

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INTEREST IN SUPPORTING WEST GERMAN POLICIES VIS-A-VIS THE GDR WILL AT TIMES PROBABLY LEAD TO FRICTION IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GDR.

(E) WHILE IT IS CLEAR THAT THE GDR MUST BY NECESSITY CONCENTRATE ON DEEPENING ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT THE LEADERSHIP DOES HAVE AN INTEREST IN A LIMITED INCREASE IN

CONTACTS WITH THE WEST. EAST GERMANY WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO MAKE CHANGES IN ITS STANCE TOWARD THE US TO OBTAIN THE BENEFITS THAT A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP MAY EVENTUALLY OFFER, I.E. EXPANDED TRADE THROUGH MFN AND CREDITS, ACCESS TO US TECHNOLOGY AND FULLER RECOGNITION OF THE GDR'S INTERNATIONAL STATUS. BUT THE GDR IS CURRENTLY THE WORLD'S ELEVENTH LARGEST INDUSTRIAL POWER AND RANKS SIXTEENTH IN GNP. LACKING MOST NATURAL RESOURCES, IT MUST RELY ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE TO SUSTAIN AND DEVELOP ITS HIGHLY INDUSTRIALIZED ECONOMY AND ALSO TO OBTAIN NEEDED AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. RECENT HIKE IN THE COST OF VITAL RAW MATERIALS INCLUDING OIL HAVE MADE THE GDR EVEN MORE DEPENDENT UPON ITS CAPACITY TO

EXPORT. FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, THE US AND OTHER DEVELOPED WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE IMPORTANT TO THE GDR IF IT IS TO MAINTAIN ITS ECONOMIC POSITION. GDR TRADE WITH THE WEST HAS INCREASED CONSIDERABLY IN RECENT YEARS, OBVIOUSLY WITH THE BLESSING OF ITS LARGEST SINGLE TRADING PARTNER--THE USSR. HOWEVER, GDR TRADE WITH THE US ACCOUNTED FOR ONLY .02 OF THE GDR'S EXPORTS AND 1.5 OF ITS IMPORTS IN 1974. DESPITE THESE MODEST STATISTICS, THE GDR IS EXTREMELY INTERESTED IN EXPANDED TRADE WITH THE US AND KEENLY DESIRES MFN STATUS AND US CREDITS.

(F) THERE IS ALSO GROWING INTEREST AMONG US BUSINESS IN TRADE WITH THE GDR. ALTHOUGH THE GDR'S RESTRICTIVE EMIGRATION POLICY PRECLUDES FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION MFN STATUS AND US-GOVERNNENT-BACKED CREDITS FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, THERE IS ROOM FOR GREATER TRADE, PROVIDED THE GDR CAN SECURE NECESSARY PRIVATE FINANCING FOR US IMPORTS WHILE LOCATING MARKETS FOR ITS EXPORTS. CONFIDENTIAL

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(G) AS NOTED ABOVE, DIRECT US POLITICAL INTERESTS IN THE GDR ARE LIMITED PRIMARILY TO THE MULTILATERAL FIELD. MOREOVER, THERE ARE OTHER ISSUES AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS, SUCH AS THE RESOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING PROPERTY AND FINANCIAL CLAIMS AGAINST THE GDR. ANOTHER ISSUE IS THE REUNIFICATION OF EAST GERMAN CITIZENS WITH FAMILIES AND LOVED ONES IN THE US. THE GDR CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN AN EXTREMELY HARD-LINE ON EMIGRATION AND THERE IS A GROWING BACKLOG OF REUNIFICATION CASES WHICH IS ATTRACTING INCREASING CONGRESSIONAL ATTENTION. UNTIL THESE ISSUES ARE STATISFACTORILY LAID TO REST, OUR RELATIONS WILL PROGRESS SLOWLY IN OTHER AREAS.

GUIDELINES

IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE, THE FOLLOWING GUIDELINES SHOULD GO-

VERN US IOLICY TOWARD THE GDR IN THE COMING YEAR:

(1) OUR MAJOR GOAL IS TO DEVELOP MORE NORMAL RELATIONS

WITH THE GDR WHILE MAKING SURE THAT OUR BROADER INTERESTS IN GERMANY AND BERLIN ARE NOT ADVERSELY AFFECTED. BOTH THE FRG AND THE USSR WILL BE CLOSELY FOLLOWING THE COURSE OF US-GDR RELATIONS, AND WE SHOQLDAVOID CAUSING ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN OUR CRITICAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THESE TWO COUNTRIES AS A RESULT OF OUR ACTIVITIES VIS-A-VIS THE GDR. WHERE THE FRG IS CONCERNED, WE SHOULD ENSURE TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE THAT OUR POLICIES TOWARD THE GDR ARE IN HARMONY WITH WEST GERMAN AND ALLIED

VIEWS ON THE EXISTING LEGAL SITUATION IN GERMANY.

(2) THE US SHOULD NOT LOOK FOR RAPID IMPROVEMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE GDR IN THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS, BUT SHOULD FOCUS ON BASIC PROBLEMS SUCH AS CONSULAR PROTECTION, CLAIMS AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION. WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR TO THE GDR THAT PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS WILL DEPEND UPON ITS WILLINGNESS TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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ACCOMMODATING ON THESE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS.

(3) ABOVE ALL, WE SHOULD AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE IN A HURRY TO DEVELOP TIES, OR THAT WE CAN BE PRESSURED INTO GRANTING CONCESSIONS IN THE US-GDR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. A BASIC GOAL SHOULD BE TO MAINTAIN A CONSISTENT POLICY LINE AND TO AVOID AN APPROACH WHICH WOULD CONFUSE THE GDR REGARDING OUR INTENTIONS IN POLITICAL AND OTHER AREAS.

(4) UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS, A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH TO ESTABLISHING "BUSINESSLIKE" RELATIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE WITHIN WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES WOULD APPEAR TO BE THE BEST COURSE. AS PROGRESS IS MADE ON THE CLAIMS AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS IN OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS WHICH CAN BE ACHIEVED WITHIN THE LIMITED CONTEXT OF PRESENT BILATERAL TIES.

POLICY OBJECTIVES-US-GDR RELATIONS

1. CONSULAR CONVENTION

-- REACH AGREEMENT ON A CONSULAR CONVENTION WITHOUT A REFERENCE TO "NATIONALITY" --WHICH WOULD BE PREJUDICIAL TO THE FRG'S INTERESTS.

2. REUNIFICATION AND HUMANITARIAN CASES

-- PUSH FOR MORE RAPID AND SYMPATHETIC GDR HANDLING OF REUNIFICATION AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN CASES.

3. TRADE AND ECONOMICS

-- FACILITATE EFFORTS OF US COMPANIES IN DEALING WITH THE GDR.

-- MAINTAIN OFFICIAL US REPRESENTATION AT THE LEIPZIG TRADE FAIRS.

-- CONTINUE TECHNICAL LEVEL COMMERCIAL TALKS BETWEEN US
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AND GDR FOREIGN TRADE OFFICIALS AND PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN.

-- OBTAIN MORE INFORMATION ON THE GDR ECONOMY AND TRADE
POSSIBILITIES.

4. CLAIMS

-- OBTAIN SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT OF PRIVATE US CLAIMS
AGAINST THE GDR.

-- ENCOURAGE THE GDR TO CONTINUE PROGRESS TOWARD
NEGOTIATION OF A CLAIMS AGREEMENT WITH REPRESENTATIVES
OF INTERNATIONAL JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS.

-- ESTABLISH WORKABLE MECHANISMS FOR SETTING OTHER
CLAIMS MATTERS SUCH AS INHERITANCES.

5. CULTURE AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

-- ENCOURAGE PRIVATE CULTURAL AND SCHOLARLY EXCHANGES.

-- EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE
US EXHIBITS AND LECTURES ON CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC-
TECHNICAL THEMES.

-- CONSIDER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LEADER GRANTS
PROGRAM FOR THE GDR. KISSINGER

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